

Supplementary Material for

WHAT IS ELECTORAL INTEGRITY?

by

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Part of

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Appendix A: Comparison of Questions in PEI Aggregate Index and PEI Concept-Based Index

Sections	Performance indicators	Direction	Included in Original PEI	Included in Concept-Based Index ¹
1. Electoral laws	1-1 Electoral laws were unfair to smaller parties	N	X	X
	1-2 Electoral laws favored the governing party or parties	N	X	X
	1-3 Election laws restricted citizens' rights	N	X	
	1-4 There was certainty about electoral rules and procedures (NEW)	P		
	1-5 Any changes in electoral rules were made by consensus (NEW)	P		X
	1-6 All votes held equal weight (NEW)	P		X
	1-7 All citizens were legally enfranchised to vote (NEW)	P		X
2. Electoral procedures	2-1 Elections were well managed	P	X	
	2-2 Information about voting procedures was widely available	P	X	
	2-3 Election officials were fair	P	X	
	2-4 Elections were conducted in accordance with the law	P	X	X
3. Boundaries	3-1 Boundaries discriminated against some parties	N	X	X
	3-2 Boundaries favored incumbents	N	X	X
	3-3 Boundaries were impartial	P	X	
4. Voter registration	4-1 Some citizens were not listed in the register	N	X	X
	4-2 The electoral register was inaccurate	N	X	X
	4-3 Some ineligible electors were registered	N	X	
	4-4 Some population groups were less likely to be registered to vote (NEW)	N		X
5. Party registration	5-1 Some opposition candidates were prevented from running	N	X	X
	5-2 Women had equal opportunities to run for office	P	X	X

¹ If questions were not available for year of election studied, see procedure for mean substitution in text. See aggregation method and further details about the survey and dataset: Garnett, Holly Ann; James, Toby S.; Caal-Lam, Sofia, 2024, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, (PEI-10.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/FQ5ECC>, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:tl5veRV9TUuBAAOMlgUsRA== [fileUNF]

	5-3 Ethnic and national minorities had equal opportunities to run for office	P	X	X
	5-4 Only top party leaders selected candidates	N	X	X
	5-5 Some parties/candidates were restricted from holding campaign rallies	N	X	X
	5-6 All citizens had an equal opportunity to run for office (NEW)	P		
	5-7 Candidates and/or parties were targeted with violence or hate (NEW)	N		
6. Campaign media	6-1 The media (formerly newspapers) provided balanced election news	P	X	X
	6-2 TV news favored the governing party	N	X	X
	6-3 Parties/candidates had fair access to political broadcasts and advertising	P	X	X
	6-4 Journalists provided fair coverage of the elections	P	X	
	6-5 Social media were used to expose electoral fraud	P	X	
	6-6 Disinformation and/or misinformation was spread on social media (NEW)	N		X
	6-7 There was informed public deliberation about key issues (NEW)	P		X
7. Campaign finance	7-1 Parties/candidates had equitable access to public political subsidies	P	X	X
	7-2 Parties/candidates had equitable access to political donations	P	X	X
	7-3 Parties/candidates publish transparent financial accounts	P	X	X
	7.4 Rich people bought elections	N	X	X
	7-5 Some state resources were improperly used for campaigning	N	X	X
	7-6 Voters were bribed	N	X	X
8. Voting process	8-1 Some voters were threatened with violence at the polls	N	X	X
	8-2 Some fraudulent votes were cast	N	X	X
	8-3 The process of voting was easy	P	X	X
	8-4 Voters were offered a genuine choice at the ballot box	P	X	X
	8-5 Postal ballots were available ²	P	X	
	8-6 Special voting facilities were available for the disabled	P	X	X

² Removed for 2023 Index

	8-7 National citizens living abroad could vote	P	X	X
	8-8 Some form of internet voting was available	P	X	
	8-9 There were wide gaps in levels of participation between population groups (NEW)	N		X
	8-10 The state encouraged voting amongst low-participation groups (NEW)	P		X
	8-11 Voters were turned away due to lack of proper paperwork or identification (NEW)	N		X
9. Vote count	9-1 Ballot boxes were secure	P	X	
	9-2 The results were announced without undue delay	P	X	
	9-3 Votes were counted fairly	P	X	
	9-4 International election monitors were restricted	N	X	X
	9-5 Domestic election monitors were restricted	N	X	X
10. Results	10-1 Parties/candidates challenged the results	N	X	
	10-2 The election led to peaceful protests	N	X	
	10-3 The election triggered violent protests	N	X	
	10-4 Any disputes were resolved through legal channels	P	X	X
	10-5 There was an effective procedure for citizens to make complaints about the electoral process (NEW)	P		X
11. Electoral authorities	11-1 The election authorities were impartial	P	X	
	11-2 The authorities distributed information to citizens	P	X	
	11-3 The authorities allowed public scrutiny of their performance	P	X	X
	11-4 The election authorities performed well	P	X	
	11-5 Electoral officials were targeted with violence or hate (NEW)	N		X

Note: The direction of the original items P=positive, N=negative.

Appendix B: Perceptions of Electoral Integrity Index (Concept-Based), Most Recent Election Reported

Country	Election Date	Office	PEI Index (Concept-Based)	Contestation	Participation	Deliberation	Adjudication
Afghanistan	28-Sep-19	Presidential	40	47	9	78	28
Angola	24-Aug-22	Presidential	40	29	49	48	32
Albania	25-Apr-21	Legislative	36	28	32	35	48
Argentina	19-Nov-23	Presidential	66	61	68	59	77
Armenia	20-Jun-21	Legislative	67	65	51	70	82
Antigua and Barbuda	21-Mar-18	Legislative	41	28	31	47	60
Australia	21-May-22	Legislative	75	67	81	65	86
Austria	29-Sep-24	Legislative	71	70	72	61	80
Azerbaijan	01-Sep-24	Legislative	38	35	49	37	32
Burundi	20-May-20	Presidential	37	34	37	34	37
Belgium	09-Jun-24	Legislative	78	76	78	80	79
Benin	08-Jan-23	Legislative	49	43	51	50	53
Burkina Faso	22-Nov-20	Presidential	50	35	54	44	68
Bangladesh	07-Jan-24	Legislative	36	32	47	31	36
Bulgaria	27-Oct-24	Legislative	48	52	52	35	54
Bahrain	12-Nov-22	Legislative	38	30	41	38	42
Bahamas	16-Sep-21	Legislative	58	40	61	50	81
Bosnia and Herzegovina	02-Oct-22	Presidential	57	58	60	47	65
Belarus	25-Feb-24	Legislative	21	24	33	8	19
Belize	04-Nov-15	Legislative	59	43	57	70	66
Bolivia	18-Oct-20	Presidential	54	46	60	59	50
Brazil	30-Oct-22	Presidential	70	55	73	80	72
Barbados	19-Jan-22	Legislative	61	60	51	59	72
Bhutan	09-Jan-24	Legislative	63	66	66	59	61
Botswana	30-Oct-24	Legislative	63	45	56	72	79
Central African Republic	27-Dec-20	Presidential	29	16	27	28	45
Canada	20-Sep-21	Legislative	86	81	88	81	96
Switzerland	22-Oct-23	Legislative	79	77	72	82	86
Chile	19-Dec-21	Presidential	80	75	81	76	87
Côte d'Ivoire	06-Mar-21	Legislative	48	37	46	41	67
Cameroon	09-Feb-20	Legislative	36	26	45	36	37
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	20-Dec-23	Presidential	41	53	49	33	28
Congo, Republic of	10-Jul-22	Legislative	26	35	24	19	25

Colombia	19-Jun-22	Presidentia 	71	61	66	78	79
Comoros	24-Mar-19	Presidentia 	22	23	0	13	24
Cape Verde	17-Oct-21	Presidentia 	77	65	81	74	89
Costa Rica	03-Apr-22	Presidentia 	81	56	91	83	94
Cyprus	12-Feb-23	Presidentia 	66	61	70	54	79
Czechia	21-Sep-24	Legislative	72	81	58	66	82
Germany	26-Sep-21	Legislative	84	80	86	83	89
Djibouti	09-Apr-21	Presidentia 	34	21	36	29	48
Denmark	01-Nov-22	Legislative	87	82	81	91	95
Dominican Republic	19-May-24	Presidentia 	60	49	64	55	70
Algeria	07-Sep-24	Presidentia 	38	31	52	31	44
Ecuador	15-Oct-23	Presidentia 	63	55	61	62	73
Egypt	10-Dec-23	Presidentia 	11	7	30	1	4
Spain	23-Jul-23	Legislative	73	68	67	67	90
Estonia	05-Mar-23	Legislative	72	81	64	78	71
Ethiopia	21-Jun-21	Legislative	45	43	39	44	53
Finland	11-Feb-24	Presidentia 	85	84	80	81	94
Fiji	14-Dec-22	Legislative	61	52	65	61	67
France	07-Jul-24	Legislative	72	67	59	67	92
Micronesia	07-Mar-17	Legislative	59	58	63	50	65
Gabon	26-Aug-23	Presidentia 	28	16	44	18	24
United Kingdom	04-Jul-24	Legislative	64	67	56	61	71
Georgia	26-Oct-24	Legislative	52	49	56	51	52
Ghana	07-Dec-24	Presidentia 	76	64	79	74	85
Guinea	18-Oct-20	Presidentia 	29	30	33	31	24
Gambia	09-Apr-22	Legislative	72	64	69	73	82
Guinea-Bissau	04-Jun-23	Legislative	57	56	61	50	60
Equatorial Guinea	20-Nov-22	Presidentia 	16	10	18	3	31
Greece	25-Jun-23	Legislative	60	52	65	46	75
Grenada	23-Jun-22	Legislative	68	63	68	59	82
Guatemala	20-Aug-23	Presidentia 	47	32	54	48	54
Guyana	02-Mar-20	Legislative	50	47	47	60	51
Honduras	28-Nov-21	Presidentia 	56	39	53	63	72
Croatia	17-Apr-24	Legislative	62	59	63	62	65
Haiti	20-Nov-16	Presidentia 	37	32	27	46	44
Hungary	03-Apr-22	Legislative	53	32	66	44	71
Indonesia	14-Feb-24	Presidentia 	47	37	57	54	41
India	01-Jun-24	Legislative	52	46	60	47	54

Ireland	29-Nov-24	Legislative	78	80	67	75	91
Iran	05-Jul-24	Presidentia l	21	21	26	19	19
Iraq	10-Oct-21	Legislative	57	44	54	65	66
Iceland	30-Nov-24	Legislative	86	90	75	84	94
Israel	01-Nov-22	Legislative	80	75	72	80	95
Italy	25-Sep-22	Legislative	72	55	84	65	83
Jamaica	25-Feb-16	Legislative	66	64	44	68	89
Jordan	10-Sep-24	Legislative	28	24	33	22	33
Japan	27-Oct-24	Legislative	75	73	70	70	87
Kazakhstan	19-Mar-23	Legislative	41	42	45	35	41
Kenya	09-Aug-22	Legislative	63	48	51	71	81
Kyrgyzstan	28-Nov-21	Legislative	42	36	37	48	48
Cambodia	23-Jul-23	Legislative	18	9	27	9	26
Kiribati	14-Apr-20	Legislative	69	64	58	81	82
Korea, Republic of	10-Apr-24	Legislative	66	55	75	58	75
Kuwait	04-Apr-24	Legislative	47	42	42	52	53
Laos	21-Feb-21	Legislative	39	20	58	0	48
Lebanon	15-May-22	Legislative	50	38	52	58	54
Liberia	14-Nov-23	Presidentia l	59	60	50	57	70
Sri Lanka	21-Sep-24	Presidentia l	56	48	53	52	69
Lesotho	07-Oct-22	Legislative	72	72	57	75	83
Lithuania	26-May-24	Presidentia l	85	86	83	74	96
Luxembourg	08-Oct-23	Legislative	68	65	61	69	77
Latvia	01-Oct-22	Legislative	81	78	86	74	85
Morocco	08-Sep-21	Legislative	63	61	54	70	68
Moldova	03-Nov-24	Presidentia l	57	48	62	53	66
Madagascar	29-May-24	Legislative	36	30	36	39	38
Maldives	21-Apr-24	Legislative	57	48	68	51	61
Mexico	02-Jun-24	Presidentia l	53	46	58	48	59
North Macedonia	08-May-24	Presidentia l	57	51	54	56	68
Mali	29-Mar-20	Legislative	39	21	38	47	50
Malta	26-Mar-22	Legislative	56	45	67	38	76
Myanmar	08-Nov-20	Legislative	60	52	61	70	58
Montenegro	11-Jun-23	Legislative	47	49	48	35	55
Mongolia	28-Jun-24	Legislative	69	54	74	66	80
Mozambique	09-Oct-24	Presidentia l	29	21	35	39	20
Mauritania	15-Sep-18	Legislative	27	24	23	25	35
Mauritius	10-Nov-24	Legislative	69	53	75	60	86
Malawi	23-Jun-20	Presidentia l	59	49	41	61	82
Malaysia	19-Nov-22	Legislative	58	42	67	51	70
Namibia	27-Nov-24	Presidentia l	59	60	59	65	52

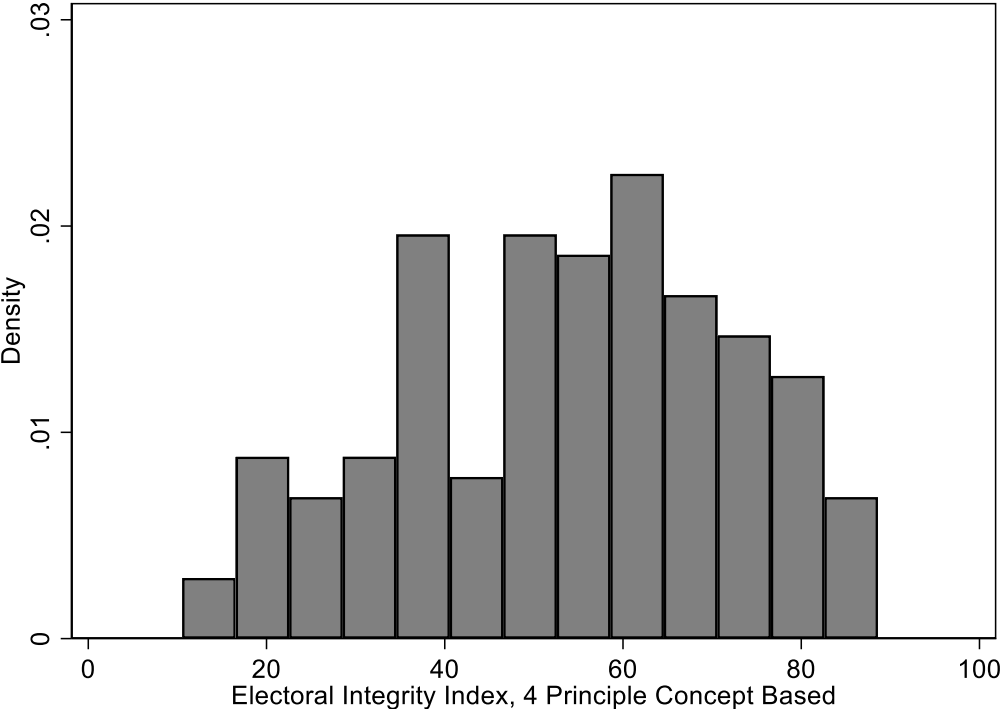
Niger	20-Mar-16	Presidentia 	54	50	57	44	66
Nigeria	25-Feb-23	Presidentia 	43	39	35	45	52
Nicaragua	07-Nov-21	Presidentia 	22	21	30	19	20
Netherlands	22-Nov-23	Legislative	81	78	81	76	90
Norway	13-Sep-21	Legislative	81	79	83	73	90
Nepal	20-Nov-22	Legislative	62	50	49	70	78
New Zealand	14-Oct-23	Legislative	75	71	78	64	85
Oman	29-Oct-23	Legislative	52	50	63	43	51
Pakistan	08-Feb-24	Legislative	48	33	56	44	55
Panama	05-May-24	Presidentia 	72	65	71	66	80
Peru	11-Apr-21	Presidentia 	74	63	86	65	81
Philippines	09-May-22	Presidentia 	35	27	38	29	45
Papua New Guinea	22-Jul-22	Legislative	48	56	22	63	53
Poland	15-Oct-23	Legislative	59	56	66	51	64
Portugal	10-Mar-24	Legislative	79	74	79	73	90
Paraguay	30-Apr-23	Presidentia 	46	41	51	42	49
Qatar	02-Oct-21	Legislative	64	65	55	59	76
Romania	24-Nov-24	Presidentia 	52	48	67	44	49
Russia	19-Sep-21	Legislative	31	18	54	23	27
Rwanda	15-Jul-24	Presidentia 	17	13	42	4	8
Sudan	13-Apr-15	Presidentia 	44	35	48	35	56
Senegal	24-Mar-24	Presidentia 	54	43	56	65	52
Singapore	01-Sep-23	Presidentia 	65	59	81	53	65
Solomon Islands	17-Apr-24	Legislative	51	53	50	42	61
Sierra Leone	24-Jun-23	Presidentia 	36	33	40	48	21
El Salvador	04-Feb-24	Presidentia 	36	29	57	26	30
Serbia	17-Dec-23	Legislative	29	29	38	26	21
Sao Tome and Principe	18-Jul-21	Presidentia 	67	51	65	69	85
Suriname	25-May-20	Legislative	60	52	57	71	62
Slovakia	06-Apr-24	Presidentia 	68	63	71	70	68
Slovenia	13-Nov-22	Presidentia 	77	73	84	69	83
Sweden	11-Sep-22	Legislative	89	82	96	86	90
Eswatini	29-Sep-23	Legislative	23	28	35	4	25
Syria	15-Jul-24	Legislative	14	11	34	0	9
Chad	06-May-24	Presidentia 	18	26	25	14	8
Togo	22-Feb-20	Presidentia 	39	30	39	45	43
Thailand	14-May-23	Legislative	52	42	60	63	43

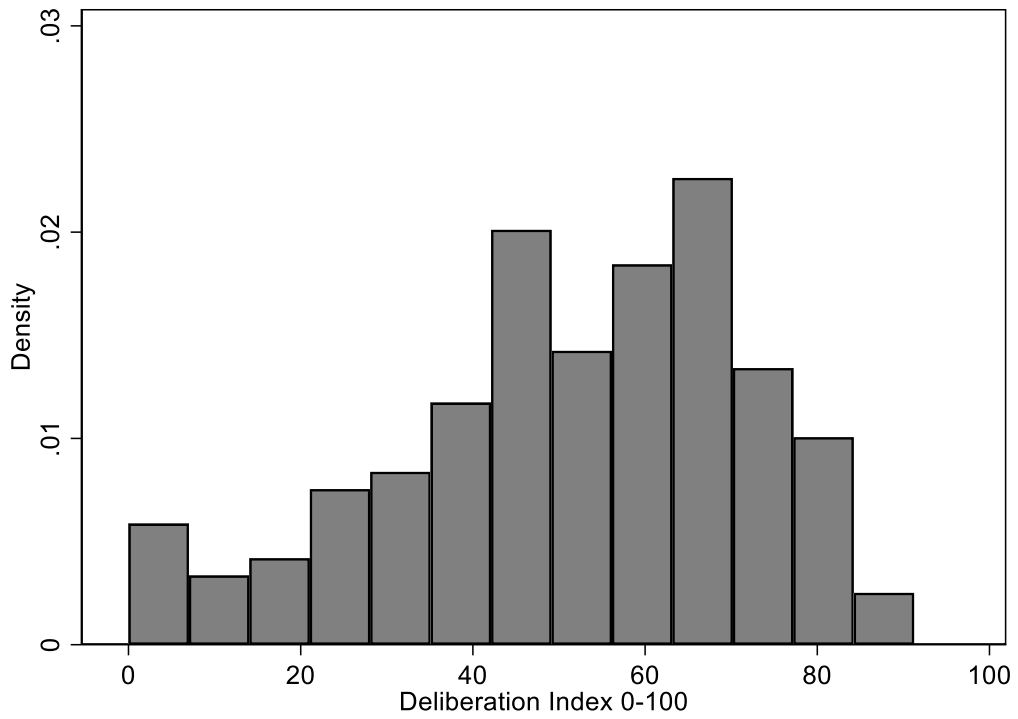
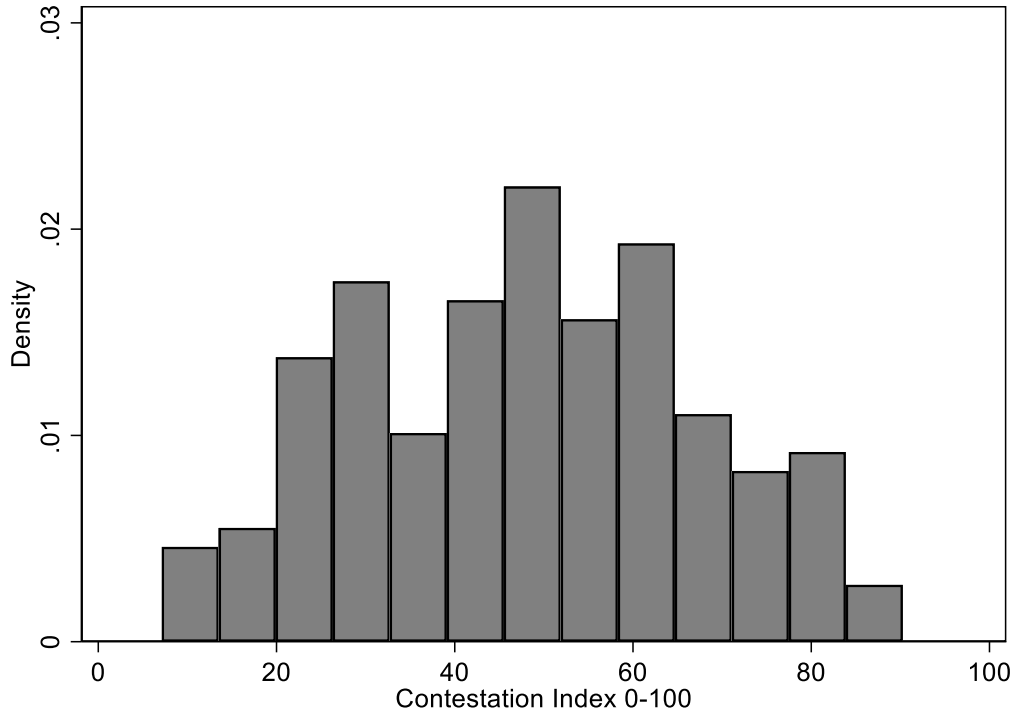
Tajikistan	01-Mar-20	Legislative	28	18	55	15	25
Turkmenistan	26-Mar-23	Legislative	17	15	30	6	16
Timor-Leste	21-May-23	Legislative	65	59	66	63	73
Tonga	18-Nov-21	Legislative	34	27	34	23	49
Trinidad and Tobago	10-Aug-20	Legislative	61	59	54	63	68
Tunisia	13-Oct-19	Presidentia 	54	40	46	73	57
Turkey	28-May-23	Presidentia 	37	23	51	36	38
Taiwan	13-Jan-24	Presidentia 	70	66	68	59	86
Tanzania	28-Oct-20	Presidentia 	31	24	29	40	29
Uganda	14-Jan-21	Presidentia 	31	43	22	22	19
Ukraine	21-Apr-19	Presidentia 	55	49	53	54	63
Uruguay	24-Nov-24	Presidentia 	79	75	81	66	95
United States	05-Nov-24	Presidentia 	54	49	49	49	68
Uzbekistan	27-Oct-24	Legislative	50	48	61	43	50
Venezuela	28-Jul-24	Presidentia 	32	26	43	43	16
Vietnam	23-May-21	Legislative	39	42	47	25	44
Vanuatu	13-Oct-22	Legislative	62	56	39	75	79
Samoa	09-Apr-21	Legislative	50	45	48	47	61
South Africa	29-May-24	Legislative	68	63	66	67	75
Zambia	12-Aug-21	Presidentia 	40	29	23	50	57
Zimbabwe	23-Aug-23	Presidentia 	18	16	19	25	12

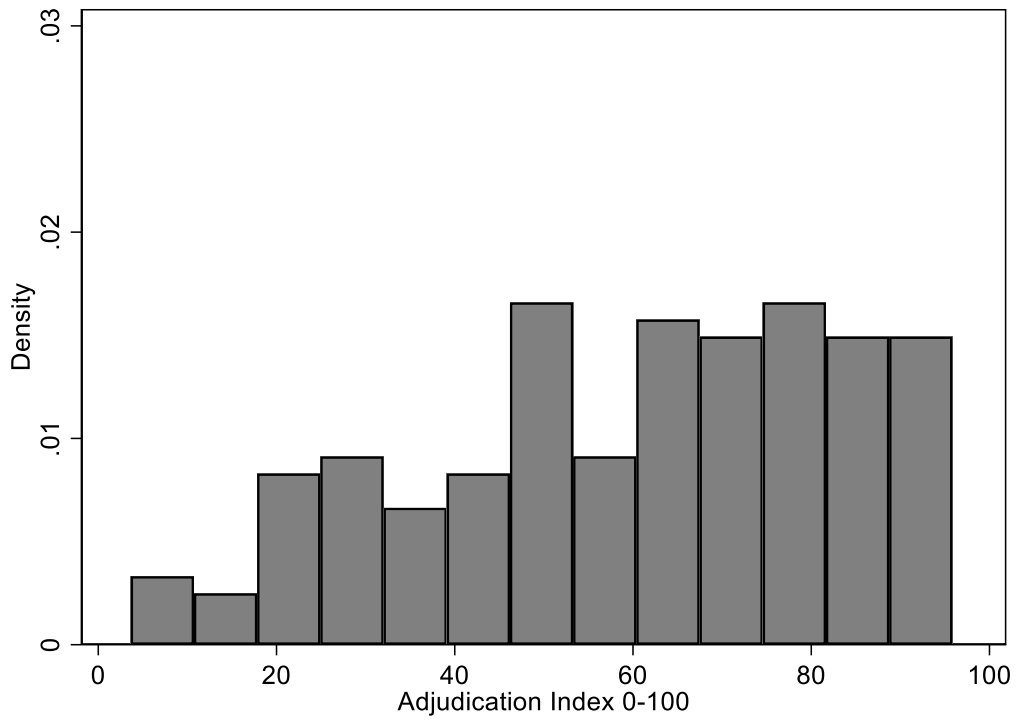
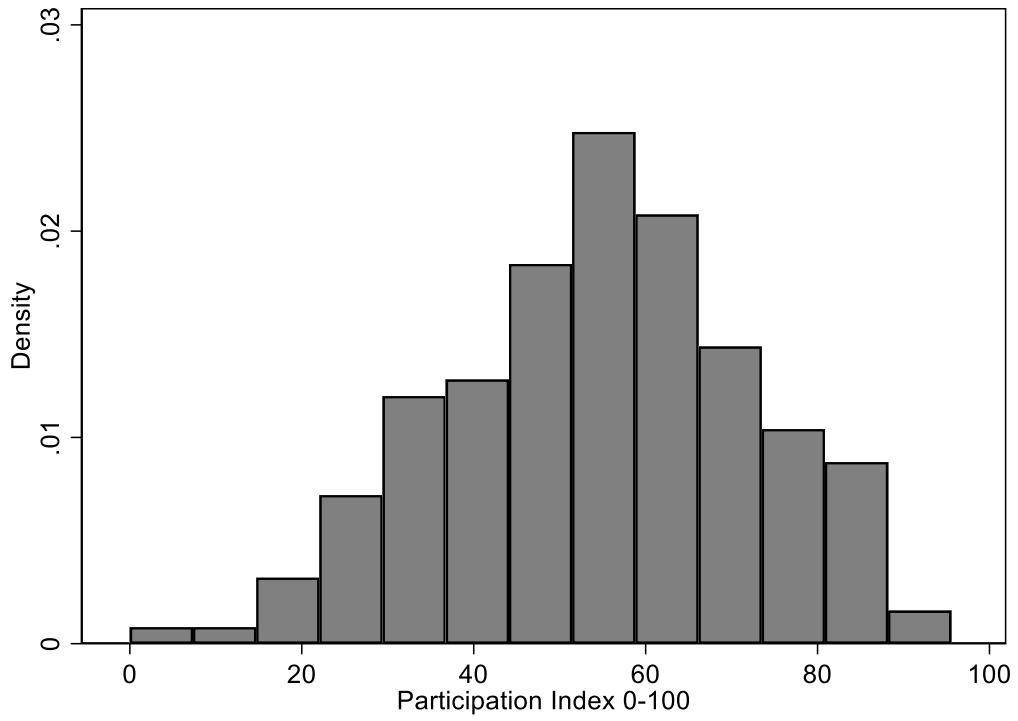
For more details on these data see: Garnett, Holly Ann; James, Toby S.; Caal-Lam, Sofia, 2024, "Perceptions of Electoral Integrity, (PEI-10.0)", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/FQ5ECC>, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:tI5veRV9TUuBAAOMlgUsRA== [fileUNF]

Appendix D: Histograms of New Concept-based Index and Principles of Electoral Integrity

Most recent election for each country, N:170







Appendix: World Values Survey Questions V5.0 (WVS Time Series 1981 -2022)

Variable	Question	Response Options
E069_64	I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? Elections	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_01	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Votes are counted fairly	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_02	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Opposition candidates are prevented from running	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_03	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? TV news favors the governing party	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_04	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are bribed	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_05	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Journalists provide fair coverage of elections	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_06	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Election officials are fair	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_07	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Rich people buy elections	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_08	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are threatened with violence at the polls	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
E265_09	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections? Voters are offered a genuine choice in the elections	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all

E265_10	In your view, how often do the following things occur in this country's elections?: Women have equal opportunities to run the office	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot 3 Not very much 4 None at all
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Citation: Haerpfer, C., R. Inglehart, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, Diez-Medrano J., M. Lagos, P Norris, Ponarin E., and Puranen E. et al. 2020. World Values Survey: Round Seven – Country-Pooled Datafile Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WWSA Secretariat.

Appendix: Questions from Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) V15

Variable	Question & Response Options
v2xel_frefair	<p>Question: To what extent are elections free and fair?</p> <p>Clarification: Free and fair connotes an absence of registration fraud, systematic irregularities, government intimidation of the opposition, vote buying, and election violence.</p> <p>Scale: Interval, from low to high (0-1).</p> <p>Source(s): v2elembaut v2elembcap v2elrgstry v2elvotbuy v2elirreg v2elintim v2elpeace v2elfrfair</p>
v2elembaut	<p>Question: Does the Election Management Body (EMB) have autonomy from government to apply election laws and administrative rules impartially in national elections?</p> <p>Clarification: The EMB refers to whatever body (or bodies) is charged with administering national elections.</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: No. The EMB is controlled by the incumbent government, the military, or other de facto ruling body.</p> <p>1: Somewhat. The EMB has some autonomy on some issues but on critical issues that influence the outcome of elections, the EMB is partial to the de facto ruling body.</p> <p>2: Ambiguous. The EMB has some autonomy but is also partial, and it is unclear to what extent this influences the outcome of the election.</p> <p>3: Almost. The EMB has autonomy and acts impartially almost all the time. It may be influenced by the de facto ruling body in some minor ways that do not influence the outcome of elections.</p> <p>4: Yes. The EMB is autonomous and impartially applies elections laws and administrative rules.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elembcap	<p>Question: Does the Election Management Body (EMB) have sufficient staff and resources to administer a well-run national election?</p> <p>Clarification: The EMB refers to whatever body (or bodies) is charged with administering national elections.</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: No. There are glaring deficits in staff, financial, or other resources affecting the organization across the territory.</p> <p>1: Not really. Deficits are not glaring but they nonetheless seriously compromised the organization of administratively well-run elections in many parts of the country.</p> <p>2: Ambiguous. There might be serious deficiencies compromising the organization of the election but it could also be a product of human errors and co-incidence or other factors outside the control of the EMB.</p> <p>3: Mostly. There are partial deficits in resources but these are neither serious nor widespread.</p> <p>4: Yes. The EMB has adequate staff and other resources to administer a well-run election.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elrgstry	<p>Question: In this national election, was there a reasonably accurate voter registry in place and was it used?</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: No. There was no registry, or the registry was not used.</p> <p>1: No. There was a registry but it was fundamentally flawed (meaning 20% or more of eligible voters could have been disenfranchised or the outcome could have been affected significantly by double-voting and impersonation).</p> <p>2: Uncertain. There was a registry but it is unclear whether potential flaws in the registry had much impact on electoral outcomes.</p> <p>3: Yes, somewhat. The registry was imperfect but less than 10% of eligible voters may have been disenfranchised, and double-voting and impersonation could not have affected the results significantly.</p> <p>4: Yes. The voter registry was reasonably accurate (less than 1% of voters were affected by any flaws) and it was applied in a reasonable fashion.</p>

	Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.
v2elvotbuy	<p>Question: In this national election, was there evidence of vote and/or turnout buying?</p> <p>Clarification: Vote and turnout buying refers to the distribution of money or gifts to individuals, families, or small groups in order to influence their decision to vote/not vote or whom to vote for. It does not include legislation targeted at specific constituencies, i.e. "porkbarrel" legislation.</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Yes. There was systematic, widespread, and almost nationwide vote/turnout buying by almost all parties and candidates.</p> <p>1: Yes, some. There were non-systematic but rather common vote-buying efforts, even if only in some parts of the country or by one or a few parties.</p> <p>2: Restricted. Money and/or personal gifts were distributed by parties or candidates but these offerings were more about meeting an 'entry-ticket' expectation and less about actual vote choice or turnout, even if a smaller number of individuals may also be persuaded.</p> <p>3: Almost none. There was limited use of money and personal gifts, or these attempts were limited to a few small areas of the country. In all, they probably affected less than a few percent of voters.</p> <p>4: None. There was no evidence of vote/turnout buying.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elirreg	<p>Question: In this national election, was there evidence of other intentional irregularities by incumbent and/or opposition parties, and/or vote fraud?</p> <p>Clarification: Examples include use of double IDs, intentional lack of voting materials, ballot-stuffing, misreporting of votes, and false collation of votes. This question does not refer to lack of access to registration, harassment of opposition parties, manipulations of the voter registry or vote-buying (dealt with in previous questions).</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Yes. There were systematic and almost nationwide other irregularities.</p> <p>1: Yes, some. There were non-systematic, but rather common other irregularities, even if only in some parts of the country.</p> <p>2: Sporadic. There were a limited number of sporadic other irregularities, and it is not clear whether they were intentional or disfavored particular groups.</p> <p>3: Almost none. There were only a limited number of irregularities, and many were probably unintentional or did not disfavor particular groups' access to participation.</p> <p>4: None. There was no evidence of intentional other irregularities. Unintentional irregularities resulting from human error and/or natural conditions may still have occurred.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elintim	<p>Question: In this national election, were opposition candidates/parties/campaign workers subjected to repression, intimidation, violence, or harassment by the government, the ruling party, or their agents?</p> <p>Clarification: Other types of clearly distinguishable civil violence, even if politically motivated, during the election period should not be factored in when scoring this indicator (it is dealt with separately).</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Yes. The repression and intimidation by the government or its agents was so strong that the entire period was quiet.</p> <p>1: Yes, frequent: There was systematic, frequent and violent harassment and intimidation of the opposition by the government or its agents during the election period.</p> <p>2: Yes, some. There was periodic, not systematic, but possibly centrally coordinated — harassment and intimidation of the opposition by the government or its agents.</p> <p>3: Restrained. There were sporadic instances of violent harassment and intimidation by the government or its agents, in at least one part of the country, and directed at only one or two local branches of opposition groups.</p> <p>4: None. There was no harassment or intimidation of opposition by the government or its agents, during the election campaign period and polling day.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elpeace	<p>Question: In this national election, was the campaign period, election day, and post-election process free from other types not by the government, the ruling party, or their agents) of violence related to the conduct of the election and the campaigns (but not conducted by the government and its agents)?</p> <p>Responses:</p>

	<p>0: No. There was widespread violence between civilians occurring throughout the election period, or in an intense period of more than a week and in large swaths of the country. It resulted in a large number of deaths or displaced refugees.</p> <p>1: Not really. There were significant levels of violence but not throughout the election period or beyond limited parts of the country. A few people may have died as a result, and some people may have been forced to move temporarily.</p> <p>2: Somewhat. There were some outbursts of limited violence for a day or two, and only in a small part of the country. The number of injured and otherwise affected was relatively small.</p> <p>3: Almost. There were only a few instances of isolated violent acts, involving only a few people; no one died and very few were injured.</p> <p>4: Peaceful. No election-related violence between civilians occurred.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elfrfair	<p>Question: Taking all aspects of the pre-election period, election day, and the post-election process into account, would you consider this national election to be free and fair?</p> <p>Clarification: The only thing that should not be considered in coding this is the extent of suffrage (by law). Thus, a free and fair election may occur even if the law excludes significant groups (an issue measured separately).</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: No, not at all. The elections were fundamentally flawed and the official results had little if anything to do with the 'will of the people' (i.e., who became president; or who won the legislative majority).</p> <p>1: Not really. While the elections allowed for some competition, the irregularities in the end affected the outcome of the election (i.e., who became president; or who won the legislative majority).</p> <p>2: Ambiguous. There was substantial competition and freedom of participation but there were also significant irregularities. It is hard to determine whether the irregularities affected the outcome or not (as defined above).</p> <p>3: Yes, somewhat. There were deficiencies and some degree of fraud and irregularities but these did not in the end affect the outcome (as defined above).</p> <p>4: Yes. There was some amount of human error and logistical restrictions but these were largely unintentional and without significant consequences.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elvaptrn*	<p>Question: In this national election, what percentage (%) of the adult voting-age population cast a vote according to official results?</p> <p>Clarification: The VAP can reflect irregularities such as problems with the voters' register or registration system. VAP numbers are estimates since they do not take into account legal or systemic barriers to the exercise of the franchise or account for non-eligible members of the population. Thus, it can occur that VAP values surpass 100 which is not an error but reflects such conditions.</p> <p>Responses: Percent.</p> <p>Scale: Interval.</p> <p>Source(s): International IDEA (2025b) (VAP figures are estimates and should be treated as such).</p>
v2elfrcamp *	<p>Question: In this national election, did parties or candidates receive either free or publicly financed access to national broadcast media?</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Either no parties or only the governing party receives free access.</p> <p>1: Some parties in addition to the governing party receive free access.</p> <p>2: All parties receive free access.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elpdcamp*	<p>Question: In this national election, were parties or candidates able to run paid campaign ads on national broadcast media?</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Not at all.</p> <p>1: It is permitted but regulated in ways that, in practice, favor the government and its allies.</p> <p>2: It is permitted without limit.</p> <p>3: It is permitted but regulated in ways that, in practice, foster fair competition.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elpaidig*	<p>Question: In this election, were interest groups and individuals able to run paid campaign ads on national broadcast media?</p>

	<p>Responses:</p> <p>0: Not at all.</p> <p>1: It is permitted but regulated in ways that, in practice, favor groups allied with the government.</p> <p>2: It is permitted without limit.</p> <p>3: It is permitted but regulated in ways that, in practice, foster representation of diverse perspectives.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elaccept*	<p>Question: Did losing parties and candidates accept the result of this national election within three months?</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: None. None of the losing parties or candidates accepted the results the election, or all opposition was banned.</p> <p>1: A few. Some but not all losing parties or candidates accepted the results but those who constituted the main opposition force did not.</p> <p>2: Some. Some but not all opposition parties or candidates accepted the results but it is unclear whether they constituted a major opposition force or were relatively insignificant.</p> <p>3: Most. Many but not all opposition parties or candidates accepted the results and those who did not had little electoral support.</p> <p>4: All. All parties and candidates accepted the results.</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>
v2elasmoff*	<p>Question: Following this national election, did winners assume office according to prescribed constitutional rules and norms?</p> <p>Responses:</p> <p>0: No. The official winner of the election was prevented from assuming office by unconstitutional means.</p> <p>1: Partially. The official winner/winning party or largest vote-getter was forced at least in part by unconstitutional means to share power, or delay assuming power for more than 6 months.</p> <p>2: Yes. Constitutional rules and norms were followed and the official winner/winning party or largest vote-getter assumed office accordingly (or continued in office).</p> <p>Scale: Ordinal, converted to interval by the measurement model.</p>

* Not included in the Clean Elections Index.

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